



39.

S. Deger-Jalkotzy

## **Military Prowess and Social Status in Mycenaean Greece**

in: R. Laffineur (ed.), *Polemos. Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'âge du Bronze. Actes de la 7<sup>e</sup> Rencontre égéenne internationale, Université de Liège, 14–17 avril 1998, Aegaeum 19 (Liège – Austin 1999)* 121–131

© Peeters

mit freundlicher Genehmigung / with kind permission

*Dieses Dokument darf ausschließlich für wissenschaftliche Zwecke genutzt werden (Lizenz CC BY-NC-ND), gewerbliche Nutzung wird urheberrechtlich verfolgt.*

*This document is for scientific use only (license CC BY-NC-ND), commercial use of copyrighted material will be prosecuted.*

**AEGAEUM 19**

**Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège et UT-PASP**

# **POLEMOS**

## **LE CONTEXTE GUERRIER EN ÉGÉE À L'ÂGE DU BRONZE**

**Actes de la 7<sup>e</sup> Rencontre égéenne internationale  
Université de Liège, 14 -17 avril 1998**

### **I**

édités par Robert LAFFINEUR

**Mykenische Kommission**  
der österreichischen Akademie  
der Wissenschaften  
1010 Wien, Dr. Ignaz Seipel-Platz 2

*Inv. Nr. 548*

Université de Liège  
Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la Grèce antique  
University of Texas at Austin  
Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory

1999

Illustration de couverture :

Liège, siège du Conseil économique et social de la Région Wallonne (CESRW),  
photographie R. Laffineur

D-1999 0480 23

Imprimé en Belgique  
par KLIEMO SA B-4700 Eupen

Tous droits réservés. Aucune partie du présent ouvrage ne peut être reproduite,  
par quelque moyen que ce soit, sans l'autorisation écrite des éditeurs :

R. LAFFINEUR,  
Université de Liège,  
Service d'Histoire de l'art et d'archéologie de la Grèce antique,  
Quai Roosevelt 1b, B-4000 LIEGE (Belgique)  
Th.G. PALAIMA,

Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, The University of Texas at Austin,  
Department of Classics, WAG 123, AUSTIN, Tx 78712-1181 (U.S.A.)

# TABLE DES MATIÈRES

## Volume I

Préface	7
<b>1. Le contexte général</b>	
Jan DRIESSEN <i>The Archaeology of Aegean Warfare</i>	11
Oliver DICKINSON <i>Robert Drews's Theories about the Nature of Warfare in the Late Bronze Age</i>	21
Margalit FINKELBERG <i>Greek Epic Tradition on Population Movements in Bronze Age Greece</i> Pl. I	31
<b>2. La Crète minoenne</b>	
Louis GODART <i>La fin des premiers palais crétois : lutte intestine ou tremblement de terre ?</i> Pl. II.	39
Anna-Lucia D'AGATA <i>Hidden Wars: Minoans and Mycenaeans at Hagia Triada in the LM III Period. The Evidence from Pottery</i>	47
Jeffrey S. SOLES <i>The Collapse of Minoan Civilization: the Evidence of the Broken Ashlar</i> Pl. III-IV	57
Alan D. PEATFIELD <i>The Paradox of Violence: Weaponry and Martial Art in Minoan Crete</i> Pl. V	67
Stella CHRYSSOULAKI <i>Minoan Roads and Guard Houses - War Regained</i> Pl. VI-IX	75
Keith BRANIGAN <i>The Nature of Warfare in the Southern Aegean during the Third Millennium B.C.</i> Pl. X	87
<b>3. La Grèce mycénienne</b>	
Phoebe E. ACHESON <i>The Role of Force in the Development of Early Mycenaean Politics</i> Pl. XI-XII	97
John BENNET and Jack L. DAVIS <i>Making Mycenaeans: Warfare, Territorial Expansion, and Representations of the other in the Pylian Kingdom</i> Pl. XIII-XIV	105
Sigrid DEGER-JALKOTZY <i>Military Prowess and Social Status in Mycenaean Greece</i>	121

## TABLE DES MATIÈRES

Robin L.N. BARBER <i>Hostile Mycenaeans in the Cyclades?</i>	133
Wolf-Dietrich NIEMEIER <i>Mycenaeans and Hittites in War in Western Asia Minor</i> Pl. XV	141
Gisela WALBERG <i>The End of the Late Bronze Age at Midea</i>	157
 <b>4. Les fortifications</b>	
John K. PAPADOPOULOS, Guy M. CROSS, Richard E. JONES and Lorna SHARPE <i>The Prehistoric Fortifications of Torone</i> Pl. XVI-XIX	163
Norbert SCHLAGER <i>"A Town of Castles:" an MM/LM Fortified Site at Aspro Nero in the Far East of Crete</i> Pl. XX-XXVII	171
Metaxia TSIPOPOULOU <i>From Local Centre to Palace: the Role of Fortification in the Economic Transformation of the Siteia Bay Area, East Crete</i> Pl. XXVIII-XXXIV	179
Krzysztof NOWICKI <i>The Historical Background of Defensible Sites on Crete: Late Minoan IIIC Versus Protopalatial</i>	191
Spyros IAKOVIDIS <i>Late Helladic Fortifications</i> Pl. XXXV-XXXIX	199
Katie DEMAKOPOULOU and Nicoletta DIVARI-VALAKOU <i>The Fortifications of the Mycenaean Acropolis of Midea</i> Pl. XL-XLV	205
 <b>5. Les aspects religieux</b>	
Philip P. BETANCOURT <i>Discontinuity in the Minoan-Mycenaean Religions: Smooth Development or Disruptions and War?</i>	219
Paul REHAK <i>The Mycenaean 'Warrior Goddess' Revisited</i> Pl. XLVI-XLVIII	227
Vincenzo LA ROSA and Pietro MILITELLO <i>Caccia, guerra o rituale? Alcune considerazioni sulle armi minoiche da Festos e Hagia Triada</i> Pl. XLIX-LV	241
 <b>6. Les aspects funéraires</b>	
Thanasis J. PAPADOPOULOS <i>Warrior-Graves in Achaeon Mycenaean Cemeteries</i> Pl. LVI-LX	267

# TABLE DES MATIÈRES

## Volume II

### 7. L'iconographie

- Charles GATES  
*Why are there no Scenes of Warfare in Minoan Art?* 277
- Edmund F. BLOEDOW  
*'Hector is a lion': New Light on Warfare in the Aegean Bronze Age from the Homeric Simile*  
Pl. LXI 285
- Nancy R. THOMAS  
*The War Animal: Three Days in the Life of the Mycenaean Lion*  
Pl. LXII-LXVIII 297
- Robert LAFFINEUR  
*De Mycènes à Homère. Réflexions sur l'iconographie guerrière mycénienne* 313
- Stefan HILLER  
*Scenes of Warfare and Combat in the Arts of Aegean Late Bronze Age.*  
*Reflections on Typology and Development*  
Pl. LXIX-LXXIII 319
- Litsa KONTORLI-PAPADOPOULOU  
*Fresco Fighting - Scenes as Evidence for Warlike Activities in the LBA Aegean*  
Pl. LXXIV-LXXVII 331
- Günter KOPCKE  
*Male Iconography on some Late Minoan Signets* 341
- Judith WEINGARTEN  
*War Scenes and Ruler Iconography in a Golden Age: Some Lessons on Missing Minoan*  
*Themes from the United Provinces (17th c A.D.)*  
Pl. LXXVIII-LXXIX 347

### 8. Les sources écrites et l'administration

- Anna SACCONI  
*Les tablettes de Pylos et la guerre* 361
- Thomas G. PALAIMA  
*Mycenaean Militarism from a Textual Perspective.*  
*Onomastics in Context: lāwos, dāmos, klewos* 367
- Massimo PERNA  
*Fiscalità ed emergenza a Pilo* 381
- Jan DRIESSEN and Ilse SCHOEP  
*The Stylus and the Sword. The Role of Scribes and Warriors in the Conquest of Crete* 389
- Cynthia W. SHELMERDINE  
*Pylian Polemics: the Latest Evidence on Military Matters* 403
- Malcolm H. WIENER  
*Present Arms/Oars/Ingots: Searching for Evidence*  
*of Military or Maritime Administration in LM IB*  
Pl. LXXX 411

## TABLE DES MATIÈRES

### 9. Les armes et l'armement

Jean-Claude POURSAT	
<i>Les armes en Égée au Bronze moyen: quelques remarques</i>	427
Cheryl R. FLOYD	
<i>Observations on a Minoan Dagger from Chrysokamino</i>	
Pl. LXXXI	433
Birgitta EDER	
<i>Late Bronze Age Swords from Ancient Elis</i>	
Pl. LXXXII-LXXXIII	443
Brigitta P. HALLAGER	
<i>A Warrior and an Unknown Chariot Type on a LM IIIB: 2 Krater in Khania</i>	
Pl. LXXXIV	449
Joost CROUWEL	
<i>Fighting on Land and Sea in Late Mycenaean Times</i>	
Pl. LXXXV-LXXXVI	455
Michael WEDDE	
<i>War at Sea: the Mycenaean and Early Iron Age Oared Galley</i>	
Pl. LXXXVII-XCII	465

### 10. La guerre

Katherina KOPAKA	
<i>La guerre des femmes en Égée de l'âge du Bronze: lire entre "les lignes de combat"</i>	
Pl. XCIII-XCVI	479
Olga KRZYSZKOWSKA	
<i>So where's the Loot? The Spoils of War and the Archaeological Record</i>	
	489
Robert ARNOTT	
<i>War Wounds and their Treatment in the Aegean Bronze Age</i>	
Pl. XCVII	499
Thomas G. PALAIMA	
<i>A Linear B Inscribed Galet from Liège</i>	
	507





## MILITARY PROWESS AND SOCIAL STATUS IN MYCENAEAN GREECE

The use of physical force as a means of ensuring governmental rule and law, as well as warfaring against an external enemy may be termed as universal principles of social behaviour and of political interaction in the sense of the application of "legitimate" or "legal" aggression<sup>1</sup> which present themselves in most human cultures.<sup>2</sup> In terms of biology and physiology they may well have developed from the primeval instinct of preservation of the species.<sup>3</sup> A similar case may be made of another social and political phenomenon which may equally be called universal, namely the establishment of social ranking and the pursuit of social status.<sup>4</sup>

Understandably therefore a close interplay between these two fundamental principles can also be universally observed: physical strength, readiness for fight and military qualities of individuals, as well as of social groups more often than not can be found among the criteria which decide upon social ranking and status, upon participation in political decisions and, indeed, upon the assignment of political power within a given society or state.<sup>5</sup>

Under these premises the Mycenaean civilization of Greece not only was no exception to the rule; it was, in fact, a very good case in point. Right from the beginning of Mycenaean archaeology the message of a close interrelation between wealth, military prowess and social and/or political leadership has been understood which emanates from the testimonies of all periods and phases of Mycenaean Greece.

However, closer study, as well as the steady increase of finds have over the years made it clear that the social and political relevance of warlike qualities of individuals and of groups did not remain static throughout the course of Mycenaean history. It changed and became diversified, alongside with the development of Mycenaean societies and states.<sup>6</sup>

A great deal of research has been recently devoted to the *Early Mycenaean (or Shaft Grave) Period* of Greece. On the basis of careful contextual studies and of statistical analyses particularly of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae,<sup>7</sup> and as a result of refined interpretations of Early Mycenaean iconography and symbolism,<sup>8</sup> scholars now more or less universally agree that the

- 1 E.g. M. WEBER, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (<sup>5</sup>1976) 29; H.W. BIERHOFF, *Sozialpsychologie* (<sup>4</sup>1988) 137-143.
- 2 WEBER (*supra* n. 1) 514-868; J. STAGL, "Politikethnologie". *Ethnologie: Einführung und Überblick* (<sup>2</sup>1988) 174.
- 3 K. LORENZ, *Das sogenannte Böse. Zur Naturgeschichte der Aggression* (1963).
- 4 STAGL (*supra* n. 2) 182-190; LORENZ (*supra* n. 3) 66-73.
- 5 STAGL (*supra* n. 2) 174-5; 182-3.
- 6 On the diversification of Mycenaean social and political structures cf. S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, "Mykenische Herrschaftsformen ohne Paläste und die griechische Polis," in *Politeia. Proceedings of the 5th International Aegean Conference (Heidelberg, 10-13 April 1994)* *Aegaeum* 12 (1995) 367-377.
- 7 It is impossible to offer bibliographical details here. Suffice it to refer to the bibliographical references given in S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, "On the negative aspects of the Mycenaean palace system," in *Atti e memorie del secondo congresso internazionale di Micenologia (Roma-Napoli, 14-20 ottobre 1991)* (1996) 715-728, ns. 16-32. In addition we mention S. DIETZ, *The Argolid at the Transition to the Mycenaean Age: Studies in the Chronology and Cultural Development in the Shaft Grave Period* (1991) and G. GRAZIADIO, "The process of social stratification at Mycenae in the Shaft Grave Period: a comparative examination of the evidence," *AJA* 95 (1991) 403-440. Since 1991 three *Aegaeum* conferences have been extensively or partly devoted to pertinent subjects: *EIKΩN. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology. Proceedings of the 4th International Aegean Conference (University of Tasmania, 6-9 April 1992)* *Aegaeum* 8 (1992). *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean. Proceedings of the Panel Discussion at New Orleans 1992* *Aegaeum* 11 (1995). *Politeia* (*supra* n. 6).
- 8 Particular attention may be drawn to R. LAFFINEUR, "Iconographie mycénienne et symbolisme guerrier," *Art & Fact. Revue des historiens d'art, archéologues et orientalistes de l'Université de Liège* 2 (1983) 38-49 and ID., "Iconography as Evidence of Social and Political Status in Mycenaean Greece," *EIKΩN* (*supra* n. 7) 105-112. For a useful compilation see J.G. YOUNGER, "The Iconography of Rulership in the Aegean: A Conspectus," in *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean* (*supra* n. 7) 151-211.

monumental tombs of that period, as well as the wealth displayed by their contents refer to a social group who had the means *and* the authority to have them built and equipped. They same applies to the fortified residences which were built during the periods of MH III/LH I until LH IIA.<sup>9</sup> It is therefore further agreed that Early Mycenaean society was ranking or even stratified. The claim of social and political leadership,<sup>10</sup> as well as the chance of accumulating wealth by monopolizing the access to the economic resources seems to have rested upon the performance of military excellence. Moreover the ostentation of military prowess was certainly prominent among those factors which shaped the lifestyle, the self-awareness and the corporate identity of those individuals who formed the upper social group(s) and who claimed to political leadership. In this view Early Mycenaean images of heroic combat and Early Mycenaean symbols of individual bravery and military qualities did not serve merely the purpose of *l'art pour l'art*. They were, on the contrary, closely related to the social conditions, the political ideology and the political reality of their time.<sup>11</sup>

As a further confirmation of this view we may complete the evidence of the architectural structures, of the funerary assemblages and of the pictorial representations by the evidence of *Mycenaean personal names*. Although they have come down to us by ways of the Linear B texts of a later period, these names were not created as late as the palace period. They were of much older origin. In fact, some of them must be etymologically and morphologically quite archaic.<sup>12</sup> We may therefore safely presuppose that the names preserved by the Linear B texts had also existed in earlier Mycenaean times.

The corpus of Mycenaean proper names contains a considerable number of what might be called "*military*" or "*warrior*" names. Of these about 25 names have been selected the interpretation of which may be considered as certain.<sup>13</sup>

The stems and word components of these personal names may be grouped as follows:

A) Names containing λαός, "the folk under arms," "host," "army:"

*E-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo* / *Ekhelāwōn*/ Νικόλαος, "he who is victorious in (or:over) the army."

*E-ti-ra-wo* / *Ertilāwos*/ Λαέρτης, "he who urges the host."

*Ra-wo-qo-ta* / *Lāwoqwhontās*/ > / *Lāwophontās*/, and *Ra-wo-qo-no* / *Lāwoq<sup>h</sup>honos*/ > / *Lāwophonos*/, "he who kills the host/army (scil.of the enemy)."

B) Names referring to πόλεμος, μάχη and to a word which in the Homeric language is preserved by the petrified form ἐν δαί, "in battle:"

*Po-to-re-ma-ta* / *Ptolemātās*/, *Ma-ka-ta* / *Makhātās*/, *Ma-ka-wo* / *Makhāwōn*/, may be interpreted in the sense of "warrior, fighter."

*A-mu-ta-wo* / *Hamuthāwōn*/ may be connected with ὁσμίνη and thus interpreted as "he who fights jointly."

*Da-i-qo-ta* / *Dai<sup>h</sup>hontās*/, "he who kills in battle."

*da-i-ta-ra-ro* has been interpreted either as /*Dai-trāros*/, "he who is quick in battle,"<sup>14</sup> or as /*Dai-tlāros*/, "he who endures in battle."<sup>15</sup>

C) Names referring to the use of physical force and to killing:

*A-no-qo-ta* / *Anorq<sup>h</sup>hontās*/ (cf. ἀνὴρ, θείνω, φόνος), "he who kills men."

*Wi-su-ro* / *Wisulos*/ is a compound of /*Wi-*/ > ἰς, "force" and συλάω, "rob, plunder:" "he who robs/plunders with force."

9 Cf. J. MARAN, "Structural Changes in the Pattern of Settlement during the Shaft Grave Period on the Greek Mainland," *Politeia* (*supra* n. 6) 67-72.

10 On the question whether Early Mycenaean polities were ruled by oligarchies or monarchs cf. DEGER-JALKOTZY (*supra* n. 7) 720 and ns. 21-23.

11 Cf. particularly LAFFINEUR, *EIKΩN* (*supra* n. 8).

12 Cf. G. NEUMANN, Wertvorstellungen und Ideologie in den Personennamen der mykenischen Griechen, *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 131.Jg.1994 (1995) 127-166 (=Veröffentlichungen der Mykenischen Kommission Band 15).

13 My sincere thanks are due to Professor G. NEUMANN who kindly helped me with the selection of these names and with their interpretation. Possible faults are my own.

14 NEUMANN (*supra* n. 12) 136.

15 A. LEUKART, *Die frühgriechischen Nomina auf -tās und -ās* (1994) 52.

*Wi-ja-da-ra* is a female name derived from < \**Wi-ja-da-ro/Wijandros*/, "he who has men thanks to his force/strength."

D) Names expressing protection, defence, resistance. They contain the etyma \**alk-* or \**alek-*, like *A-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* /*Alektruwōn*/ and *A-re-ka-sa-da-ra*, the female version of the well-known name *Ἀλέξανδρος* (\**A-re-ka-sa-da-ro*), "he who defends the men." See also *A-ko-so-tā* /*Alksoitās*/, "he who shows his force," "he who defends."

The word μένω, "resist," is represented by the name of *A-o-ri-me-ne* /*Ahorimenēs*/, "he who resists/defends with his sword (ἄορ)."

The word φυγή is represented by *Pu-za-ko* /*Phugiagos*/, "he who makes (the enemy) run away," and possibly also by *Pu<sub>2</sub>-ke-qi-ri* /*Phug<sup>o</sup>*/ (the second component of this name remains obscure).

E) Names referring to weapons:

*A-o-ri-me-ne* /*Ahorimenēs*/ (see above, sub D); *E-ke-a* /*E<sup>a</sup>kheās*/ is a short name containing ἔγχος, "sword." A similar interpretation has been put forward for *A-i-qe-u*, by connecting this name with a very archaic etymon meaning "sword," namely \**n<sub>o</sub>si* (cf. latin *ensis*) > \**a<sup>h</sup>i*.<sup>16</sup>

*A-mo-ke-re-[we]* /*Harmoklewēs*/ and *Na-u-si-ke-re-[we]* /*Nausiklewēs*/ allude to the main Mycenaean means of military transport, chariots and ships.

Proper names are generally accepted to transport a wish which parents or families give their children along the way. By the same token proper names are also believed to refer to the system of values and to the ideals of a society or of a certain group within this society.<sup>17</sup> As has been already stated, Mycenaean "warrior" names like certain phenomena of architecture, iconography, status symbols and funerary assemblages may be accepted as an indication that military qualities and heroic attitudes were a fundamental factor of the group-awareness of Early Mycenaean élites.

The question arises whether the ostentation of individual bravery and of military prowess of Early Mycenaean rulers and élites remained within the realm of ideology and of corporate identity, or if they were related to practical military actions and to actual war. There is evidence which seems to support the latter alternative.<sup>18</sup> It is, however, necessary to differentiate the meaning of "military action" and of "war:" *Internal* fights for social ranking and for political power may well have characterized the formative stages of the Mycenaean civilization, as well as the period of its expansion within the Peloponnese and the eastern parts of Central Greece, that is to say the later stretches of MH III and the earliest Shaft Grave period (MH III/LH I). This view is suggested by the occasional occurrence of outstanding and richly furnished warrior tombs of MH date,<sup>19</sup> by the spread of the tholos tomb<sup>20</sup> and of other monumental tomb types, and by a comparison between the distribution maps of MH III-LH I sites on the one hand and of LH I-II sites on the other hand.<sup>21</sup> With regard to the earliest phases of the Mycenaean Age the term "emerging élites" which nowadays enjoys great popularity is, indeed, appropriate. But it is doubtful whether this term should still be used in connection with the social and political conditions of LH I and LH IIA. By then the social and political stratification of Early Mycenaean polities must have been completed, as witnessed particularly by Grave Circle A and the early tholos tombs at Mycenae and by the monumental funerary monuments elsewhere. It cannot be denied that the evidence may well be interpreted in terms of internal competition for social influence and political authority<sup>22</sup> and by a marked striving for excellence<sup>23</sup> which expressed itself by warlike behaviour, by the ostentation of

16 LEUKART (*supra* n. 15) 56.

17 NEUMANN (*supra* n. 12) 128-9.

18 See e.g. the paper of P. ACHESON in this volume.

19 I. KILIAN-DIRLMEIER, "Reiche Gräber der mittelhelladischen Zeit," *Politeia* (*supra* n. 6) 49-53.

20 C. MEE and W.G. CAVANAGH, "Mycenaean tombs as evidence for social and political organisation" *OJA* 3 (1984) 45-64.

21 With regard of the Peloponnese cf. S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, "Archäologie und Geschichte: Die Peloponnes in mykenischer Zeit," paper delivered at the *Centenary of the Austrian Institute at Athenes*, 4-7 March 1998 (in press).

22 Cf. S. VOUTSAKI, "Social and Political Processes in the Mycenaean Argolid: The Evidence from the Mortuary Practices," *Politeia* (*supra* n. 6) 55-64, with a comment by J.C. WRIGHT *ibid.* 65.

23 Cf. DEGER-JALKOTZY (*supra* n. 6) 367-377.



wealth<sup>24</sup> and, as has already been mentioned, by the symbolic language of the images of the period. However, even if it cannot be excluded that within an Early Mycenaean polity social and economic rivalry was carried out and settled by military conflicts, it would be difficult to prove them archaeologically.

*External wars* may have occurred between conflicting Early Mycenaean polities, either because diplomatic relations took an inimical turn and the conflicts had to be solved by military action, or because economic and commercial reasons led to war. But it seems again difficult to prove such possible events on archaeological grounds: Even if a preponderance of Mycenae in the Peloponnese and of Thebes in Central Greece may be assumed on the evidence of the archaeological sources, the general impression rather suggests that an economic and political balance prevailed in Early Mycenaean Greece.<sup>25</sup>

On the other hand, we may consider the long distance trade connections of the Early Mycenaean Greeks, as well as their diplomatic and cultural relations with the big powers of their time. It seems likely that the martial appearance of the Mycenaean leaders and their obvious readiness for war may well have served the purpose of impressiveness and of military dominance. It also ought to be kept in mind that during the pinnacle of the Early Mycenaean period the islands of the Aegean and eventually Crete, as well were incorporated into the Mycenaean sphere. It does not seem likely that this process took place peacefully, particularly in view of the destruction levels by which the Mycenaean takeover was frequently accompanied.

Turning now to the *Mycenaean Palace Period*, it may be *a priori* assumed that military organization and war equipment were a matter of great concern to the Mycenaean palaces, and that warfare was, in all probability, part of the historical reality of the time. No major political power can abstain from armament and arms policy. It is further not conceivable that the Mycenaean dominance in the central Mediterranean could have been brought about and maintained without exercising military superiority. Nor was Mycenaean enterprise all over the Mediterranean possible without the backing of a considerable military strength.

As a matter of fact, the Linear B documents of the Mycenaean palace offices amply testify to the activities and to the products of highly specialized arms manufacturers.

Actual workpieces of those palatial armourers were found by fortunate archaeologists of our days, while the mighty fortifications protecting the palaces testify to the work of the *to-ko-do-mo/ toikhodomoi*, the "builders" registered by the lists of personnel who worked for the palaces. The Linear B texts further demonstrate how perfectly the manufacture of military equipment was managed by the administrative centres of the palaces and how tightly the palace bureaucrats controlled all operations from the procuring of raw materials until the distribution of the finished products.<sup>26</sup>

The Linear B tablets further testify to the fact that a considerable segment of the obligations exacted by the Mycenaean kingdoms from their subjects appears to have consisted in various forms of military supply and of military service.<sup>27</sup> For our present purpose we leave aside the deliveries of goods and the performance of labour which were demanded for the work of the palatial armouries or which were required for feeding the military forces in action. Instead, we refer to the connection between land tenure and conscription which has been

24 VOUTSAKI (*supra* n. 22); G. KOPCKE, "Treasure and Aesthetic Sensibility - the Question of the Shaft Grave Stelai," *TUAS* 6 (1981) 39-45.

25 DEGER-JALKOTZY (*supra* n. 7) 721-22.

26 The evidence of the Linear B texts relating to the subject of this conference has been marshalled by T. PALAIMA in this volume.

27 There is no need of dwelling on this matter which was observed from the very beginnings of Linear B studies, cf. the pertinent chapters of M. VENTRIS and J. CHADWICK, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, second edition by J. CHADWICK (1973) and of L.R. PALMER, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts* (1963).

detected by contextual analyses of pertinent series particularly of the Pylos texts.<sup>28</sup> According to those, every rural community (/dāmos/) of the kingdom was obliged to supply a certain number of men who had to serve in the army, with the fleet,<sup>29</sup> or with special contingents like e.g. the coast guards listed by the *o-ka*-texts of Pylos.<sup>30</sup> Analogous services had to be fulfilled by the royal dependents owning allotments of palatial landed property such as the *ki-ti-ta* and the *me-ta-ki-ti-ta* of PY An 610.1-12 who were conscribed for service with the fleet of Pylos.<sup>31</sup> It is likely that a good percentage of the men listed by some texts of the Am-, As- and B-series of Knossos fell under a similar category.<sup>32</sup>

At the upper end of the palatial sector of landed property, the big landowners and the so-called "collectors," members perhaps of a landholding aristocracy or even of the royal family,<sup>33</sup> supplied certain numbers of their own dependents to fulfil military service. Such is suggested by PY An 724, and by the men of /*Ekhelāwōn*/ and of *We-da-ne-u* listed in PY An 610.13-14.<sup>34</sup>

The conscripts were placed under the command of military officers who were in the service of the palace and who operated at the level of the local districts<sup>35</sup> and the /dāmos/ communities,<sup>36</sup> as well as in the military headquarters at the palace centres.<sup>37</sup>

On account of the evidence of the Linear B texts it is thus obvious that military matters were of a vital importance to Mycenaean palace government. However, the interrelation between social status and individual military qualities now took a development that differed widely from the conditions of Early Mycenaean communities.

In the first place, the protection of the country and of the people, as well as the performance of all other kinds of "legitimate aggression" (as defined by ways of introduction)

- 28 Cf. S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, "Landbesitz und Sozialstruktur im mykenischen Staat von Pylos," *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean (c.1500-1000 B.C.). Proceedings of the International Symposium at Haifa, April 1985* (1988) 31-52; P. DE FIDIO, "Palais et communautés de village dans le royaume mycénien de Pylos," *Tractata Mycenaea. Proceedings of the 8th International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies held in Ohrid, 15-20 September 1985* (1987) 129-149; P. CARLIER, "À propos de *te-re-ta*," *ibid.* 65-73.
- 29 J.T. KILLEN, "PY An 1," *Minos* 18 (1983) 71-79; J. CHADWICK, "The Muster of the Pylian Fleet," *Tractata Mycenaea* (*supra* n. 28) 75-84.
- 30 Cf. S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, *E-QE-TA. Zur Rolle des Gefolgschaftswesen in der Sozialstruktur mykenischer Reiche* (1978) 14-52.
- 31 J. CHADWICK, "The Muster of the Pylian Fleet" (*supra* n. 29); T. PALAIMA, "Maritime Matters in the Linear B Tablets," *Thalassa. L'égée préhistorique et la mer. Actes de la troisième rencontre égéenne internationale de l'Université de Liège, (Calvi [Corse], 23-25 avril 1990)* *Aegaeum* 7 (1991) 285-86.
- 32 DEGER-JALKOTZY (*supra* n. 30) 83-105.
- 33 J.T. KILLEN, "The Knossos Ld (1) Tablets," *Colloquium Mycenaeanum. Actes du colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens tenu à Chaumont sur Neuchâtel 7-13 September 1975* (1979) 176-79.
- 34 Cf. CHADWICK (*supra* n. 29).
- 35 Reference may be made to the commanders of the *o-ka*-groups (cf. above and *supra* n. 30) and to functionaries carrying the titles of *mo-ro-qa* (PY Jo 438; ?PY Aq 64+218) and *ki-e-u* (PY An 724.9); evidence for military functions of *qa-si-re-u/basileus* is provided e.g. by KN As 1517.
- 36 On the etymological connection of the title *te-re-ta/telestās* and of the verb *te-re-ja-e* with τέλος in the sense of "royal service" cf. DEGER-JALKOTZY (*supra* n. 28); for a different view, however, see CARLIER (*supra* n. 28).
- 37 Of course, the bearer of the telling title of *ra-wa-ke-ta/lāwāgetās* "he who leads the /lāos/" has always been taken by Linear B scholars as the first candidate for the supreme military leader of a Mycenaean palace state. However, it is a well-known phenomenon to linguists and to sociologists that social functions frequently develop far away from the original significance of their titles. On the other hand, according to the Pylos texts the position of the /lāwāgetās/ was second only to the /wanax/ himself. Like he, the /lāwāgetās/ had a share in the royal estate of /temenos/, even if it was smaller than that of the king (PY Er 312). Moreover, according to various documents particularly of the Ea-series of Pylos the /lāwāgetās/ owned part of the palace personnel and a branch of the palatial installations for production (as indicated by the possessive adjective *ra-wa-ke-si-jo* "belonging to the /lāwāgetās/"). It is therefore obvious that the /lāwāgetās/ had a share in the royal power in the kingdom of Pylos. At Knossos military leadership was attributed to the /lāwāgetās/ on the evidence of KN As 1516. For Pylos, too, a case can be made for the connection of the /lāwāgetās/ with military matters, see e.g. M. LINDGREN, *The People of Pylos. Prosopographical and Methodological Studies in the Pylos Archives II* (1973) s.v.- High military commands apparently were also held by the /hequetai/, the "followers" or the members of the personal retinue of the King, cf. DEGER-JALKOTZY (*supra* n. 30).

now lay with the centralizing bureaucracies and with the powerful monarchies of Mycenaean palace states.<sup>38</sup> The Linear B documents leave no doubt that the supreme command of all military forces and the supreme control of all military resources formed part of the royal power of Mycenaean palace monarchies.<sup>39</sup> Military service was considered a duty<sup>40</sup> which the subjects had to render to this central power.

Secondly although it may be assumed that warlike talents were required for holding a military office or for being entrusted with a military command, military prowess was apparently not the only qualification nor the basic prerequisite for achieving a high social status in Mycenaean palace kingdoms. According to the Linear B texts the upper ranks of society and of the bureaucratic hierarchy were also occupied by high officials of the palace administration, by court officials, by managers of the palatial workshops, by supervisors of the goods stored in the royal magazines, and above all by priests and holders of religious offices.<sup>41</sup>

Thirdly, it is true that archaeological finds of stately weapons like the armour of the "Cuirass Tomb" at Dendra or the helmets covered with boar's tusks testify to a high social status of their owners by their exclusiveness and by their intrinsic value. The materials and the skilled workmanship required for their manufacture were certainly not accessible to everybody. In a similar way the luxuriously decorated chariots listed by the Sd-Series of the Knossos texts may be taken as an evidence for the high status of the Mycenaean */hequetai/*.<sup>42</sup> However, seen in context this stately military equipment seems to have been left remarkably empty of what might be called a "military ideology." In archaeological assemblages such ostentatious weapons as mentioned above remain almost isolated within a rich array of luxury items, of symbols and of pictorial representations which are almost free of a military spirit and of a glorification of fight. It has often been observed that representations, metaphors and symbols of war, combat and of military glory played almost no rôle in the artistic manifestations of the Palace Period.<sup>43</sup> Above all the vigorous Early Mycenaean images of individual belligerence, of male bravery and of a "heroic" conduct saw no continuation in the visual arts of LH III A and III B.<sup>44</sup> Moreover those few representations of warriors, of warrior deities<sup>45</sup> and of military action which have so far have been found were exclusively confined to the premises of the palaces.<sup>46</sup> At first sight they seem to confirm the dominating role of the Mycenaean palace monarchies in military matters which apparently left no room for the ostentation of the military prowess of anyone except the king.

38 DEGER-JALKOTZY (*supra* n. 7); T. PALAIMA, "The Nature of the Mycenaean *wanax*: Non-Indo-European Origins and Priestly Functions," in *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean* (*supra* n.7) 119-139.

39 It is not essential to the aims of this paper to decide upon the old question whether the supreme military command lay with the */wanax/* or with the */lāwāgetās/*, since the latter obviously had a share in the royal power (cf. *supra* n. 37). Personally I am inclined to believe that the */wanax/* not only was the supreme religious authority in the kingdom but that he also held the supreme military command, even if it may well have been the */lāwāgetās/* who actually led the kingdom's army at war. Whatever the relation between the */wanax/* and the */lāwāgetās/* may have been, it is clear that the command of the military forces of a palace state lay with the monarchy.

40 Note the frequent occurrence of the expression *o-pe-ro* or *o-pe-ro-te/ophēlon(tes)/* "obliged to" in connection with references to army service (*supra* ns. 28, 29, 36).

41 See the evidence compiled by LINDGREN (*supra* n. 37) Part II *passim*. Attention may be also drawn to rooms with high standard decorations (e.g. wall-paintings) which were attached to or situated on upper floors of palatial workshops, magazines and shrines. They are generally interpreted in the sense of living quarters of those officials who were in charge of the respective installations of the palace.

42 DEGER-JALKOTZY (*supra* n. 30) 96-98.

43 See the material presented by S. HILLER in this volume. My thanks are due to Professor Hiller for allowing me to make use of his manuscript.

44 LAFFINEUR (*supra* n. 8).

45 Cf. e.g. three pictorials from the Cult Centre at Mycenae which have been interpreted in this way: the plaque depicting a so-called "shield-goddess," a fragment of a wall-painting showing the upper part of a female wearing a boar's tusks helmet and carrying a griffin; a fragment of a wall-painting from the "House of the Frescoes" showing the lower part of a female deity holding a large sword.

46 HILLER (*supra* n. 43) catalogue nr. II/1 a-c, II/2 a-b.



On the other hand the dominating rôle of the Mycenaean palace monarch in military matters is concealed both by the written and by the archaeological sources. The evidence of the Linear B documents mainly relates to the religious functions of the */wanax/*, revealing thereby the theocratic character of his rule;<sup>47</sup> it is only indirectly that his military functions are referred to.<sup>48</sup> Similarly the design of Mycenaean palace architecture served to a large extent to the demands of cult and of religion, as witnessed by the great numbers of shrines and sanctuaries incorporated in the architectural plans of the palaces. Moreover the royal hall (Megaron) and its throne-room were definitely dedicated to the religious functions of the Mycenaean */wanax/*.<sup>49</sup> It was perhaps not by chance that the royal megaron received its canonical shape right from the formative stages of the Mycenaean palaces,<sup>50</sup> so that the architectural plan, the dimensions and the furniture of the megara which have so far been found in Mycenaean palaces may be called almost identical.

The religious character of Mycenaean palace kingship was expressed, above all, by the imagery and symbols of the visual arts which refer almost exclusively to religious matters. The repertoire consists of representations of religious scenes and sacred ceremonies; of cult processions and of ceremonial banquets; of lions, griffins and sphinxes protecting the palace premises<sup>51</sup> and the throne;<sup>52</sup> of enthroned figures attended by those powerful and mythical creatures or commanding them.<sup>53</sup> As has been recently been demonstrated by a very fine analysis, this repertoire may be interpreted as the manifestation of a divine kingship whose charismatic gifts were able to enforce tremendous and supernatural powers, attendants of the deities, to protect the kingdom and the dynasty.<sup>54</sup>

It is therefore clear that the ruler ideology of Mycenaean palace kingship did not rest upon the military prowess nor upon the military glory of the */wanax/*. It was based on his religious functions and on his divine powers. Like Near Eastern kingship and very probably like the rulers of the Minoan palaces, the Mycenaean palaces and states were therefore ruled by what is generally called a "divine king." In a state ruled by this type of monarchy a high social status and participation in the political decisions are interpreted in the sense of partaking of the divine powers which emanated from the king. In this view the precious objects and personal ornament in the shape of religious symbols or of cult objects, as well as seals decorated with representations of the emblems (mythical creatures) and religious scenes of the royal imagery<sup>55</sup> which form our main evidence for the high status of a Mycenaean individual of the LH IIIA and IIIB periods receive their proper significance. In combination with high standard military equipment they may be further accepted as an archaeological evidence of the fact that under the rule of a Mycenaean */wanax/* military qualities and social status were interrelated in a very special way. The same seems to appear from Linear B testimonies e.g. of a */hequetās/* who also was a priest of Zeus (*di-wi-je-u* of PY An 656.8f).

During the closing years of the Mycenaean palace period the military aspects of Mycenaean */wanax/* kingship seem to have become of higher momentum to the ruler ideology. Representations of war and fight on wall-paintings and on pictorial vases of the Palace Period almost exclusively date from LH IIIB2.<sup>56</sup> Further evidence may be offered by the distribution of *warrior names* in the Pylos texts.<sup>57</sup> Many scholars now believe that */Ekhel āwōn/* (PY Er 880;

47 PALAIMA (*supra* n. 38) 123-139.

48 PALAIMA (*supra* n. 38) 129-130.

49 Cf. PALAIMA (*supra* n. 38); P. REHAK, "Enthroned Figures in Aegean Art and the Function of the Mycenaean Megaron," in *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean* (*supra* n. 7) 95-118.

50 K. KILIAN, "The Emergence of the *wanax* Ideology in the Mycenaean Palaces," *OJA* 7 (1988) 291-302.

51 LAFFINEUR (*supra* n. 11) has collected a significant amount of pertinent representations under the name of "Lion Gate type." Clearly this monument of Mycenae represents the outstanding version of this iconographic type.

52 LAFFINEUR's "Throne-Room"-type (*supra* n. 11).

53 See e.g. LAFFINEUR and YOUNGER (*supra* n. 8) and REHAK (*supra* n. 49).

54 LAFFINEUR (*supra* n. 8).

55 *Supra* n. 53.

56 Cf. *supra* p. 126 and ns. 45, 46.

57 For etymological interpretation of the names see *supra* p. 122f.

Un 718.2; An 610.13; An 724.5; probably also Un 219.1) not only ranked at the top of the society of Pylos, but that he was the King himself, the */wanax/* of Pylos. If so, the meaning of this name "he who is victorious in/over the host" may well indicate that military prowess was expected from the members of the Pylian dynasty during the closing years of the 13th century B.C.

*/Alektrowōn/* (PY An 654) was a "follower" of the King, a */hequetās/*. His duties with the coast guard system of Pylos place him within a military field of action. The exalted status of this man is expressed by the patronymic */Etewoklēwios/* (< Ἑτεοκλήης = "he who truly has fame"). Like in the Homeric epics, a reference made to the name of a man's father indicated that he was of highborn origin.

*/Alxoitās/* (PY An 39; Cn 40; 45; 453; 599; 719; Eq 213; Pn 30; Un 267; Va 482; Wa 917) appears to have been the highest official of the administration of the kingdom of Pylos. On evidence of PY Ta 711.1 */Phuge-/qi-ri* was a chief-steward of the royal magazines at Pylos, another high official.

"Warrior names" in the Pylos texts thus appear to have been concentrated at the top of the social and political hierarchy of the kingdom. It is furthermore remarkable that these names were not confined to the military sphere, but that they were also borne by officials of the palace administration. On the other hand, names of this kind were not amply represented among the other inhabitants of the palace centre.

By contrast, "warrior names" were rather popular at a local level. They were owned by notables like a */telestās/* (*A-i-qe-u* in the PY En/Eo and Eb Series), by a *mo-ro-qa* (*Do-ri-k-a-o* in PY Jo 438) or by a priest (*A-o-ri-me-ne i-je-re-u* in PY Qa 1296). However, there were also people of the lower ranks among the bearers of "warrior names," such as the shepherds of the Cn-tablets (*E-ti-ra-wo* of PY Cn 131 and *Pu-za-ko* of PY Cn 328). A striking concentration of "warrior names" occurs among the smiths of the Jn-Series: *Po-to-re-ma-ta*, *Ma-ka-ta*, *Ma-ka-wo*, *A-mu-ta-wo*, *Ra-wo-qo-ta* (cf. PY Jn 601; 725; 658; 431; 750). May we accept them as a continuation of an Early Mycenaean habit of passing on "warrior names" in certain families whose members occupied themselves with military activities?

A different picture is presented by the Linear B texts of **Knossos**. In these documents "warrior names" are not found at the top of Mycenaean government and society, except for */Lāwophonos/* of D1 928 who was a "collector" and thus ranked high within the society of the Mycenaean kingdom of Knossos. It has to be admitted that the Knossos texts do not reveal the names of the persons who held sway over the Mycenaean kingdom of Knossos such as the */wanax/* and the */lāwāgetās/*. It is moreover possible that *A-no-qo-ta* of KN E 847 and *Ra-wo-qo-no* of KN B 798 were people of a certain status. On the other hand, "warrior names" were in Mycenaean Crete only owned by shepherds (cf. *Da-i-qo-ta*, *A-no-qo-ta*, *Wi-su-ro*, *Da-i-ta-ra-ro* of KN Da 1164; 1289; Dd 1284; De 1231) and by three people whose character remains undetectable (*A-mu-ta-wo* of KN V 756; *E-ke-a* of KN V 831; *Do-ri-ka-o* of KN V 958).

It cannot be excluded that the difference between the Knossos and the Pylos texts with regard of the "warrior names" resulted from the chronological difference of the two corpora. The Knossos tablets (no matter whether we prefer to date them in LM IIIA or in LM IIIB1) were chronologically older than those from Pylos.

During the last phase (LH IIIB2) of the Mycenaean Palace Age the catastrophes of the palaces were already foreshadowed by early symptoms like destructions at Mycenae and Tiryns at the beginning of LH IIIB2 or the disaster of Gla and perhaps also of Pylos in the course of that period.<sup>58</sup> There is moreover evidence that measures of defence were taken against an

58 Cf. K. KILIAN "La caduta dei palazzi micenei continentali: aspetti archeologici," in D. MUSTI (ed.) *Le origine dei Greci, Dori e Mondo Egeo* (1985), 74-5 and fig. 1 a,b; C.W. SHELMEIRDINE, "Architectural change and Economic Decline in Pylos," in J.T. KILLEN, J.L. MELENA, J.-P. OLIVIER (eds.), *Studies in Mycenaean and Classical Greek Presented to John Chadwick* (1987) 557-568; for the destruction of Gla in the course of LH IIIB2 see Sp. IACOVIDIS, *Γλάς. Η ἀνάσκαφή 1955-1961* (1989). For a destruction of Pylos earlier than the end of LH IIIB see M. POPHAM, "Pylos. Reflections on the date of its destruction and on its Iron Age reoccupation," *OJA* 10 (1991) 315-324.



impending threat,<sup>59</sup> above all the strengthening of Mycenaean fortifications which now achieved their full defensive efficiency.<sup>60</sup> May we cautiously assume that there was a connection between those events and the synchronous pictorials mentioned earlier of fight and warfare on wall-paintings at Mycenae, Pylos and Orchomenos, as well as the representations of warriors in vase-painting, and the "warrior names" given to the members of the highest ranks of the Pylian kingdom and probably to the king himself (/Ekkelāwōn/)? May we then further suggest that during the last phase of the Mycenaean palaces in LH IIIB2 military prowess gained importance to the ideology of the rulers of the Mycenaean palaces because warfare and defence assumed the highest factual importance? But even then there can be no doubt that military glory and ostentation of military prowess remained a prerogative of Mycenaean palace rulers: As has been mentioned earlier, "heroic" images have so far not been found outside of Mycenaean palace sites, nor is there any other evidence that the performance of individual bravery found public recognition.

Neither the charismatic sacral gifts of the /wanaktes/ nor the military logistics of the centralizing bureaucracies nor the military abilities of the army commanders were able to prevent the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces at the close of LH IIIB2. The Mycenaean palaces were never rebuilt, and their highly developed civilization was wiped out. Although the subsequent LH IIIC period remained fully Mycenaean of character, the people either were not able or not willing to uphold the high cultural achievements of the preceding centuries. Above all the art of writing was given up which had been of instrumental importance to the administration and the bureaucratic control of the supra-regional territories and of the complicated political structures ruled by the palace system. LH IIIC thus experienced a fundamental change of the social, political and economic structures, while the Mycenaean cultural heritage was gradually transformed into a constituent element of the Early Iron Age civilization of Greece.<sup>61</sup> As far as the subject of this paper is concerned, two aspects of LH IIIC deserve particular attention.

In the first place, the archaeological records<sup>62</sup> imply that LH IIIC saw no continuation of the complicated economic, social and political structures which had characterized the palace system. Similarly to the Early Mycenaean Period, the political map of Mycenaean Greece appears again to have been characterized by independent small-scale polities whose territories were in accordance with the geomorphological conditions of Greece. Settlement patterns, architectural plans and tomb contexts suggest that the political power lay with local princes (petty kings) or local aristocracies displaying wealth, élitarian self-awareness and a sumptuous lifestyle.<sup>63</sup> At the pinnacle of development during the prosperous LH IIIC Middle phase these polities may well have represented a formative stage of the Greek *Polis*.<sup>64</sup>

59 KILIAN (*supra* n. 58); SHELMEARDINE (*supra* n. 58); S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, "Die Erforschung des Zusammenbruchs der sogenannten Mykenischen Kultur und der sogenannten Dunklen Jahrhunderte," in J. LATACZ (ed.), *Zweihundert Jahre Homer-Forschung. Colloquium Rauricum 2* (1991) esp. 139-144.

60 Cf. KILIAN (*supra* n. 58) and SHELMEARDINE (*supra* n. 58).

61 Cf. J. RUTTER, "Cultural Novelties in the Post-Palatial Aegean World: Indices of Vitality or Decline?," in W.A. WARD, M. SHARP JOUKOWSKY (eds), *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C. From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (1992) 61-78; DEGER-JALKOTZY (*supra* n. 59).

62 Due to the loss of writing the LH IIIC period like the subsequent "Dark Ages" of Greece remained illiterate and thus became *sensu stricto* a part of the prehistory of Greece. Studies into the historical developments of the period must therefore rely almost exclusively on archaeological sources. The materials have been treated monographically by F. SCHACHERMEYR, *Die Ägäische Frühzeit Band IV: Griechenland im Zeitalter der Wanderungen vom Ende der mykenischen Ära bis auf die Dorier* (1980); J. VANSCHOONWINKEL, *L'Égée et la Méditerranée Orientale à la fin du deuxième millénaire. Témoignages archéologiques et sources écrites* (1991). For synoptical surveys cf. KILIAN (*supra* n. 58); DEGER-JALKOTZY (*supra* n. 59) and "The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors Updated," in S. GITIN, A. MAZAR, E. STERN (eds), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries B.C.E. In Honor of Professor Trude Dothan* (1998) 114-128.

63 SCHACHERMEYR (*supra* n. 62); Cf. DEGER-JALKOTZY (*supra* n. 62).

64 DEGER-JALKOTZY (*supra* n. 6) 375-77.

Secondly the archaeological sources suggest that military prowess was prominent among the qualities of which the social and political leaders of LH IIIC boasted. Attention has been frequently drawn to representations of war, fight, combat and "heroic" male attitudes on the copiously decorated vases which were the hallmark particularly of LH IIIC Middle.<sup>65</sup> Favourite themes were warriors equipped with the latest types of armament and riding on chariots or defiling in procession; representations of single combat, of fighting on chariot and on foot;<sup>66</sup> and for the first time war ships<sup>67</sup> and naval battle scenes<sup>68</sup> appear in Mycenaean paintings.

Moreover many LH IIIC cemeteries of the Greek Mainland, of Crete and of the islands have produced a tomb containing what is usually called a warrior burial: In most cases it was the only tomb where among all other interments the burial of one man was found who was accompanied by his weapons<sup>69</sup> and by an assemblage of valuable objects. There can be no doubt that these men were members of the ruling élite, if not monarchic rulers of their respective communities. Their title may have well been βασιλεύς.<sup>70</sup> Alongside with the testimonies of the visual arts warrior burials of LH IIIC, too, seem to imply that individual warlike qualities were rated highly by the society of the period.

The archaeological sources further suggest that LH IIIC was by no means a calm and peaceful era. The evidence of most settlement sites is marked throughout by a series of destructions, and population movements are suggested by the abandonment of sites or by the foundation of new settlements.<sup>71</sup> From this it may be concluded that war and fight were a historical reality of LH IIIC, and military leadership may well have played an essential rôle during the troubles of the period. In fact, on the evidence of a pictorial crater fragment found at the Serraglio of Kos and showing a galley which is rowed by warriors wearing a fantastic headgear<sup>72</sup> it may be even suspected that piracy may not have been alien to the military leaders of LH IIIC.

As has been said by ways of introduction the Mycenaean Age of Greece provides an excellent example of the interrelation between military prowess and social status. However, this interplay took various shapes which were obviously a response to the social and political developments along the course of Mycenaean history. Analysis of archaeological contexts and interpretation of the messages transported by the images and symbols of the visual arts suggest that during the Early Mycenaean period, and again in LH IIIC Mycenaean polities were ranked or stratified. Societies of this kind do not form a unified system.<sup>73</sup> Their social structures are fluid and amorphous, and the public functions of the community rest upon a web of personal relations consisting of kinship ties (families and clans) and nonkin alliances. In particular the military defence of a community, as well as military expeditions are performed by loosely organized political or military associations of "followers," "companions," "friends" gathered by a qualified military leader. Under certain historical conditions great importance may be attached by a society of this kind to the military leadership and to the military qualities of individual members of the community. It is obvious that strong and successful leaders may thus find the chance of establishing a powerful social position and of securing their permanent influence upon the political decisions of the community. The Mycenaean palace system, by contrast, monopolized all aspects of public life by a radical centralization of all

65 See S. HILLER in this volume, with further references. Hiller aptly remarks that figural representations and narrative scenes painted on vases of LH IIIC took the place of the arts of wall-painting and of seal imagery which had not survived the breakdown of the Mycenaean palace civilization.

66 E. VERMEULE and V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting* (1982) chapters XI-XIII.

67 Cf. VERMEULE and KARAGEORGHIS (*supra* n. 66) XI.92-6; XII.30-33; XIII.6.

68 Cf. Ph. DAKORONIA, "War Ships on Sherds of LH IIIC Kraters from Kynos," *Tropis* 2 (1987) 122 fig. 1-3.

69 For warrior tombs containing Naue II swords see J. BOUZÉK, *The Aegean, Anatolia and Europe: Cultural Interrelations in the Second Millenium BC* (1985) 122-28; the list has been recently completed by L. PAPAZOGLOU-MANIOUDAKI, "A Mycenaean Warrior's Tomb at Krini Near Patras," *ABSA* 89 (1994) 177-179. On finds of Mycenaean F and G swords see the paper of B. EDER in this volume.

70 DEGER-JALKOTZY (*supra* n. 6) 375-77.

71 See the evidence presented by SCHACHERMEYR (*supra* n. 62) and VANSCHOONWINKEL (*supra* n. 62).

72 L. MORRICONE, *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73) 359-60 and figs. 356-58.

73 STAGL (*supra* n. 2) 182-190.

social, political and economic functions which were, moreover strictly controlled by centralizing bureaucracies. This centralization was further accompanied by the establishment of strong monarchies of the "divine kingship" type. The Linear B documents testify to the fact that all affairs of the state were now under the paramount control of the Mycenaean palace kings. It is therefore not surprising that the interrelation of military qualities and social status underwent a considerable change as we have seen. However, the Mycenaean palaces were a shortlived phenomenon. After the collapse of the palace system the social conditions of Mycenaean Greece continued with a development which had been interrupted at around 1400 B.C. So did the interplay of military prowess and of social status.

Sigrid DEGER-JALKOTZY